1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

village as well as a farming centre, and boats are numerous and well made. What may be called in-shore fishing from small boats is usually done with tame cormorants, which are trained to catch the fish, but prevented from swallowing them by a ring round the neck, The fisherman punts his boat along the shallow shore surrounded by his flock of cormorants, perhaps ten or twelve birds, which seize the fish disturbed by the passage of the boat. The cormorants are never allowed to feed themselves by catching fish when the ring is removed, but are fed by hand in the boat ; damaged fish, small fry, and shell fish—a kind of fresh water cockle—being used for their food. Fish caught by cormorants is always cheaper than that caught in nets because the birds have damaged it to some degree and it will not keep. Wild cormorants, plentiful on the Erh Hai, can never be tamed for fishing, and the tame ones are bred in captivity.

Off-shore fishing with nets is more paying than cormorant fishing because larger fish can be caught; they are not damaged by the birds' beaks, and can be kept alive in a barrel or tank till brought to market. This is a considerable industry on the lake, but is mostly in the hands of families from the villages of the eastern shore where there is little or no rice land. The fishing families live permanently on their large boats, fifty feet long by eight feet in the beam, although they often have some property in one of the villages of the eastern shore.

A Min Chia village, even when part of the population engages in fishing, is essentially a cluster of farms. There are no shops in the village, and no trades are carried on there except boat building in one or two of the villages on the east side of the lake, where the poor soil is quite inadequate to support a farming population. When the villager wishes to make purchases he either goes into the city or waits for a market day, when the traders come out to an open air market

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

342
361

Min Chia village of Er Gai Yu (lower chicken village).

The main street, Ta Li.

[Face p. 80]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

CHAPTER 9

INVITATION TO THE FEAST

WHAT are called modern comforts are unknown as yet to the Min Chia, rich or poor. There is no water supply except wells, no lighting except oil lamps or candles, no sanitation at all. Glass windows are a rare luxury never installed throughout a house, and the panes are small and of inferior quality. Most windows are of paper pasted over wooden lattices, which are very artistic but quite opaque, admitting only a dim light. The only system of heating houses in the cold winter evenings or wet days is the use of charcoal burners, for no Min Chia house has fireplaces or chimneys. In a Min Chia house with paper windows one may have either light or heat, but not both at once. For if the windows are shut the light is dim, and if they are kept open the charcoal brazier is not sufficient to keep the room warm.

These discomforts are inevitable in a country so far removed from the centres where modern luxuries are produced, but the Min Chia do not make the most of the materials they have to hand, even when they are well able to afford them. A bamboo lattice screen hung over the doorway or window will keep out flies from a room in summer, and such screens are occasionally used. Most rooms, however, do not have them, and in the spring months before the rains, the ordinary Min Chia house is black with flies, about which everyone complains. Yet it never seems to occur to them to make use of lattice screens at every doorway. This attitude is indeed usual. Rich men live in discomfort, of which they are well aware, but seem to lack the knowledge of how to improve conditions.

1: Fitzgerald 41-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

a seat on the bed, or rather invites his guest to recline on the bed, which is indeed the only approach to a comfortable seat which he can find.

The fact that beds are always found in the guest room, usually across the altar facing the door, is due to the crowded conditions of even wealthy Min Chia homes, and to the entire absence of the idea of privacy. A Min Chia home, if it is built on four sides of the courtyard, may have twelve rooms on the ground floor, and the same number on the upper floor, but the family, however few, would not dream of each occupying one room. Husband and wife will share one small room, perhaps the grandmother may have one to herself, the rest of the family are crowded together two or more to a room, and the empty part of the house is let to strangers, or, if the family is really large, distributed among other relations. Usually the upper storey, which to western ideas, is the most desirable part of the house, as it alone has windows on both sides, is left empty or used for storing produce or lumber. The Mia Chia do not like to sleep upstairs, and rarely use that part of the house at all.

In spite of the fact that so much space is there to hand, a Min Chia house has usually only one sitting room in use, and that is at once the dining room, guest hall, and probably the bedroom of some member of the family as well. In such conditions privacy is impossible, and fortunately is not appreciated. Min Chia cannot understand why one person should want a room to himself, still less why anyone should want two. They themselves seem quite indifferent to noise and undisturbed by any distraction. Children will learn their lessons reading out loud at the tops of their voices, babies wail, dogs bark incessantly, someone hammers nails into a box, and through all this the master of the house will sit unmoved, indeed unaware, conversing with a friend, reading, or doing accounts.

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 74.—THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö OR HSÜEH-SUNG-T'UN

雪松村納西族聚居之那柳窩村

The last village on the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain in the Commune of Pai-sha, at an elevation of over 9,000 feet, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan. The Na-khi name of the village means: "At the foot of the silver rocks." Mt. Shan-tzu-tou in background.

S
ST
342

[p.140J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

291
342

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 94.—LO-LO WOMEN AT OSHIH-PO

羅羅婦女

Women as well as men wear the black felt cloak. They live in the most primitive fashion; their houses made of pine boards, tied together with vines, are not much better than pigsties.

[p. 172 F.]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

S
ST
291
342

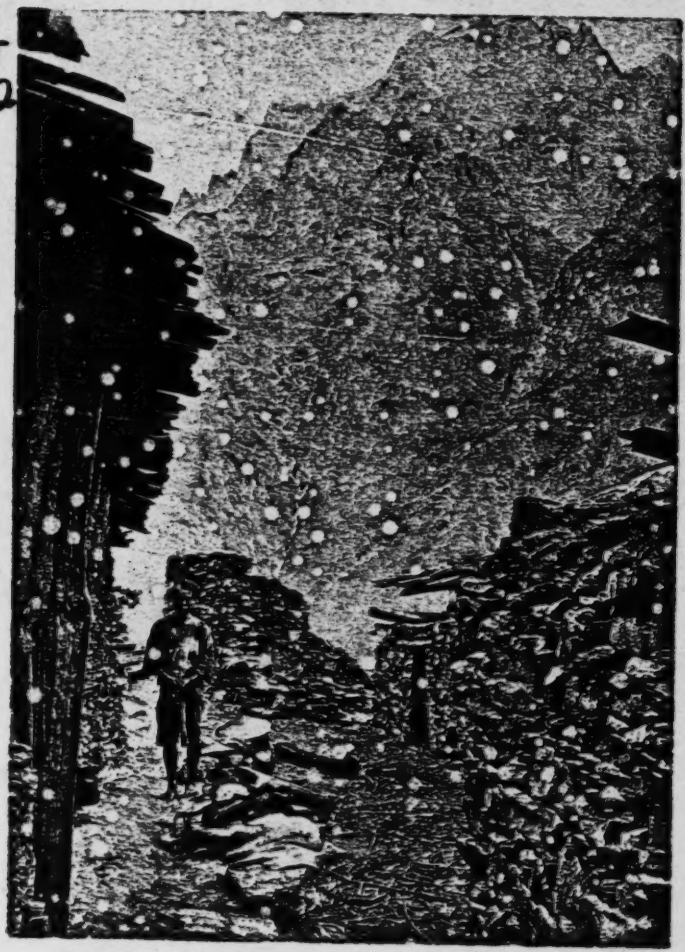
(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 96. — NA-KHI PEASANTS OF MEH-YU-WÔ

Na-khi farmers from the Yangtse loop still live a primitive existence untouched by Chinese civilization. The men are tall and sturdy and wear large dark blue turbans.

[p. 172 H]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border People AE3
S
ST
342



(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 122. — THE NA-KHI HAMLET GYI-P'ER-LO IN THE 'A-TS'AE-GKO GORGE

達吉角葉各爾家村

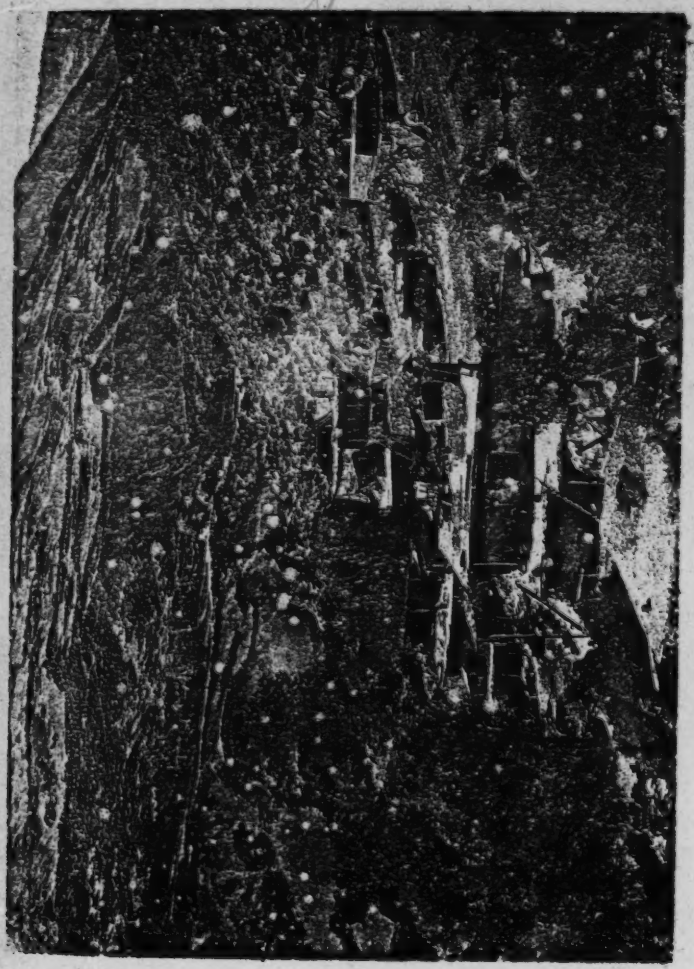
The isolated village consists of seven families and is built entirely of rock; its elevation is 7,775 feet, and is in Chung-tien territory.

[p. 220 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ST
361
342



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 165.—THE TIBETAN HAMLET OF NYE-THANG

雲南江邊多雨古宗村

The houses of the Mekong Tibetans have flat roofs on which they dry their grain. Maize is especially cultivated here. Notched logs are used for ladders. Salt and Chinese tea, rather than money is the medium of exchange, the two articles being scarce here.

[p. 298 M]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

231
476 For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common variety is the yellow cow, and the P'ien-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 tou of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

574
• 342
222
224 Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high mountains are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窩, Long Cliff Nest 長崖窩, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活洞, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money may be paid, or exchange may be accomplished by means of barter. If two objects are bartered and they are of unequal value, the balance may be paid in cash or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

The principal market places are in the Chinese cities. Here the Ch'iang bring produce--firewood, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, walnuts fruit, vegetables, chickens, pork, mutton, eggs, hides, etc. With the money they purchase salt, cotton cloth, vegetable oil, and other commodities which they take home.

The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from sixty or seventy to over three hundred per cent. This is one of the handicaps now faced by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay, the lender sometimes sends a poor person to live in the home of the borrower and eat his food, smoke his tobacco, drink his tea, and sleep in his bed. This may cost the borrower a lot of money but in the end he must pay all the money owed, both capital and interest. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, a goat, or a cow. Often the interest is paid in corn. For a loan of one hundred dollars the yearly interest is from two to six dou or pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

3. Habitations and Villages.

The houses are built of unhewn stones plastered together with clay. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides, so that the walls of the houses appear smooth, and the corners square. There are two or more stories. The first story consists of a small open court and rooms or pens for the domestic animals. The floors of the pens are covered with small twigs, grass, or straw, which are trod upon for weeks and mixed with the offal of the animals, and later is used for fertilizer. People live on the second floor where dogs, cats, chickens, and sometimes other domestic animals and fowls range. The roofs are flat, and at the rear of each roof is an open shed in which corn and other grains are stored, and where the women sometimes do their weaving. Similar stone houses are widely used in the highlands of western Szechwan, Si Kang, and eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

the scenery. The rear wall projects a few feet higher than the shed, and in the center is a shrine on which is placed the sacred white stone and in front of which the family worships. 342

To build a roof, first large timbers are put into place, and thick boards over the timbers. On the boards are placed brushwood, mountain bamboo, and twigs. Often thorns are added to discourage the rats. Finally dirt is thrown on top and pounded hard. There is a slight slope to the roof so that rain runs off instead of leaking through. There are a few round or square holes in the roof to let out smoke and to let in light. The windows of the houses are small, so that there is insufficient light inside, and since there are no chimneys the houses are filled with smoke while food is being prepared. The walls and ceilings of the houses, as well as the furniture, are blackened with smoke.

The main door of the house opens inwards. At the left is a lock composed of three pieces of wood about three feet from the ground. A large piece of wood about eight by ten inches goes through the wall next to the door. To the left of this is a hole through which the hand can be inserted. A smaller piece penetrates the larger piece at right angles, and lengthwise through this second piece is a hole into which the wooden key is inserted. When all the family is away, the door is locked and the key carried away, and nobody can enter, for no two keys are alike.

In the villages the houses are very close together. Some of them are wall-to-wall. The streets are narrow alleys approximately six to twelve feet wide, and on both sides rise the high stone walls of the houses. Nearly every village has one or more watch towers built of stone which are about eighteen feet square and become smaller towards the top. Some are over a hundred feet high. They were built in for times for defence. In time of war the women and children and the most valuable possessions were taken inside for safety, while from the top arrows and rifle bullets were shot at the enemy. Towards the upper slope the top wall was built higher so as to protect the defenders from arrows and bullets shot from a higher elevation. Often the villages are on cliffs or promintories that make protection easier and the stone walls of the houses and gardens may be supplemented so that the village is a fortress. Nearly all Ch'iang villages are called Chai Tzu or fortresses. 361 349

mewu

his judgment in determining which tent community each family must join. 361 Q21

The winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near the winter house each family plants oats which are cut green and used during the winter as fodder. There is enough land so that everyone can plant as much oats as he needs for his cattle. The two summer pastures, on the other hand, are not always the same, a particular pasture being used only once every two years. Thus one family lives in five different pasture areas in the course of two years, on a winter pasture and two summer pastures per year. The distances between the pasture areas of a tent community are never very great. For example, the following were the distances between the pasture areas of the tent community in which I lived: winter camp to first summer camp was over 20 li (1); first summer camp to second summer camp

233 361

1. Chinese li is about 600 meters.

about 20 li; second summer camp to winter camp 40 - 50 li.

The tents of a tent community are as a rule pitched on the slope of a narrow valley. They are in long rows at irregular distances of 20 to 200 meters from one another, so that the entire settlement can be 2 - 4 kilometers long. On the bottom of the valley it is usually too damp to pitch a tent. The choice of site for a tent camp is primarily determined by the water conditions.

342

The tents (2) are not all the same size. Smaller tents have a

2. Illustrations, for example, in Futterer 6), pages 336, 342; detailed descriptions in Hermanns 3), page 43; Ekvall 4), page 74.

rectangular floor space of about 8 x 4 meters, larger ones about 15 x 5 meters. /19/ The cloth of the tent is a very coarse blackish brown material woven of yak hair, either by the nomad women themselves or by women of the sedentary Fantzu. The cost of the material for an entire tent averages about $50. The floor of the tent consists simply of trampled earth. The tent itself consists of a wall and a roof. The wall, about 1.30 meters high, is a width of cloth which encloses the tent and is fastened on stakes of the proper height. The roof is made of widths of cloth sewed together horizontally at a height of 1.80 meters and fastened to four stakes of the same height. These stakes form a smaller rectangle inside the wall, the sides of which are about one meter from the wall.

342 Cloth strips about 1 1/2 meters wide are sewed onto the sides of the horizontal tent roof. These are fastened to shorter poles (in front about 1.80 meters, on the sides and in the rear about 1 meter) outside the tent walls in such a way that they slant outward like eaves. In this way the entire space enclosed by the tent wall is covered. Around the tent a number of longer and shorter poles and stakes are hewn into the ground in order to stretch the large horizontal middle section of the tent roof and the slanting sides. These posts are fastened to the cloth of the roof with strong ropes made of yak hair. The horizontal roof consists of two symmetrical halves that converge in a line at the center of the two longitudinal sides. These two halves of the tent roof can be pulled apart slightly to permit the smoke from the fireplace below to escape.

354 The fireplace is always in the exact center of the tent and divides
342 it into two equal halves. It consists of a very primitive rectangular hearth made of loam, on the left side wall of which, as seen from the entrance, there are three fire holes. There are three corresponding round holes on top into which the cooking pots are set. The hearth does not extend from the front to the rear of one side; toward the rear it joins the place /20/ where the fuel is stored. The fuel consists of dried yak dung. In front of the hearth is the entrance to the tent. This is separated from the hearth by a wall about 2 meters wide, made of a piece of cloth stretched between special rods. Thus when one enters the tent one does not come directly into the main room but into a sort of anteroom formed by the cloth wall stretched out in front of the hearth. The person who enters is thus forced to turn right or left and therewith enters the left or right half of the tent, the two halves being sharply separated by the hearth and the adjacent area where the fuel is kept.

342 The side of the tent to the right of the entrance may be used only
562 by the men, the left side by the women. It is strictly forbidden to step across the hearth or the place where the fuel is stored. It is also considered very impolite to step over a person lying on the floor of the tent. Strangers, whether women or men, may under no circumstances enter the side not permissible to them. The residents of the tent may themselves set foot on the forbidden half only if they are alone in the tent and are obliged to fetch something from the other side. The woman, however, may not be seated in the right half. The man goes over to the left side to sleep.

352 In the section to the right is the hearth with a type of very primitive "k'ang" (1), that is to say, two short tubular passages are

1. The living room of the North Chinese house has

mewu

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall. 352

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place. 778 353 362

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds. 234 462 342

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles. 231 788 343

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/ placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the 342

mewv

342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it
[294] grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

Mewu

is much more tense. Until very recently there were often bloody 000
Mohammedan uprisings against the Chinese government. The last of these took place only eight years ago (about 1928). In such times of unrest when the power of Chinese officials is not very far-reaching, there is a general feeling of great insecurity. The Fantzu often take this opportunity to plunder the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese who fled into the territory of the Fantzu during the last uprising were well treated by them. Since then, however, the favorable relationship between Fantzu and Chinese has deteriorated more and more (for the above-mentioned reasons), so that in 1936 my interpreter doubted whether the Fantzu would assist the Chinese in a Mohammedan uprising.

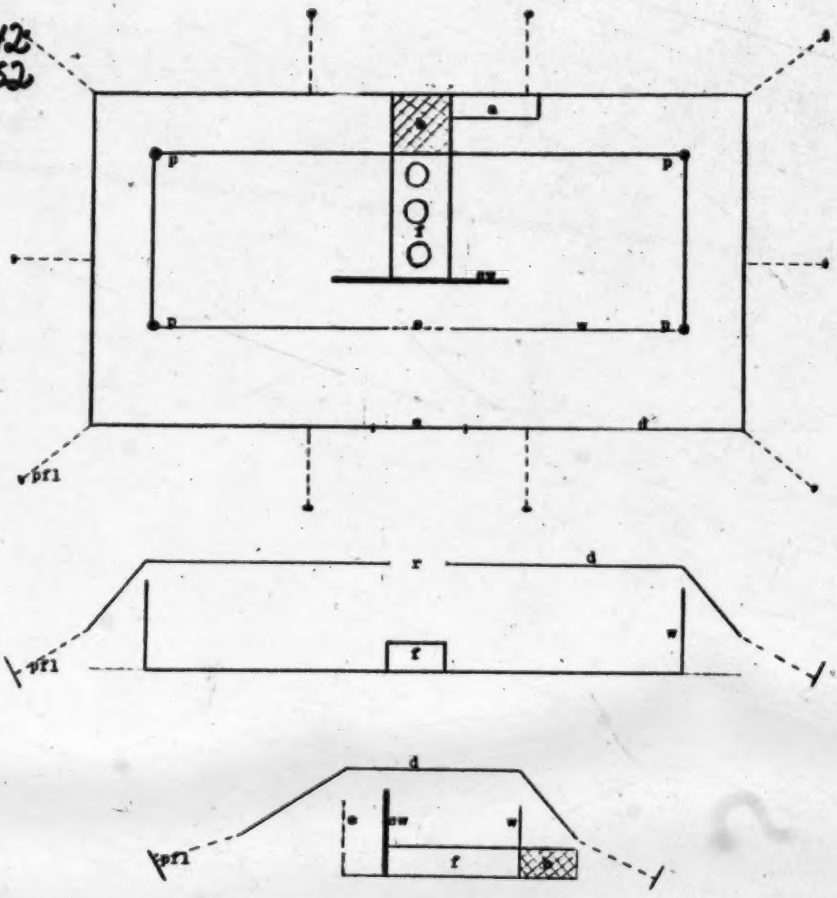
Key to diagrams on following page:

342
352

w - wall, d - tent roof, r - smoke vent, f - fireplace, ew - wall in front of fireplace, e - entrance, a - family altar, b - fuel, pfl - stakes to fasten down tent roof, p - supports for the tent roof.

Mewv

312
352



w = Wand, d = Zeltdach, r = Rauchabzug, f = Feuerstelle, ew = Wand vor der Feuerstelle, e = Eingang, a = Hausaltar, b = Brennmaterial, pfl = Pflöcke zur Befestigung des Zeltdaches, p = Stützpfähle für das Zeltdach.

[For an English translation of the caption, see p. 70]

539 lamb to the Sacred Forest for the New Year celebration on the first day of the tenth month /of the lunar calendar./

"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
/12/ Next to them is the Sacred Forest."

2. Gods on the Roof and Inside the Stone House.

776 [342] The top of a Ch'iang house is like the roof garden of a Western house. In the center is an agricultural and pastoral workshop. Along the walls are places for worshiping gods. There are gods on every roof of a Ch'iang house, but the number of gods on each roof may be different. For example, at Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan hsien, there are on the roof of a Ch'iang house five gods, represented by five pieces of white stones.

1) Mo-pǐ-tzé	God of Heaven
2) Rü-bü-tzè	God of Earth
3) Tzǔk-si	God of Mountains (God who sustains the earth)
4) Sǐ	Goddess of Mountains
5) Si-wa	Lord Kuan.

In Li-fan, the Ch'iang at Hou-erh-k'u and Shang-san-li worship nine gods on their roofs:

1) A-pä-mǔbe-da	God who created Heaven and Earth.
2) Rǔbe-we-ngi-tzè	Goddess of Earth.
3) Dsu-rǔ-pee	God of Redeeming Vows and Opening Roads.
4) Abe-shi-gai-ki	God of Mountains (Different Mountain Gods in different places).
5) Bo-wa-tzè	God of Building Houses.
6) Ta-la	God of Directing War (who showed the Ch'iang the way to defeat the Ko.)
7) Shgee	Door God of Heaven (who will take care of everything.)
8) Mǔ-gee	The Wise Man in the Ch'iang

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

alluvial slope at an elevation of 5,800 feet. On our arrival the whole village of Chang-ra was assembled in one house where a wedding was taking place. All were celebrating the occasion by getting drunk. From Chang-ra we descend to the Salween which flows swiftly, entering a deep and narrow gorge south of the village. A single rope-bridge spans the river here, used only in the summer, when, owing to the swift current, crossing by dug-out is impossible. Several dug-out canoes were on the bank but only two were serviceable. Seven Lu-tzu, all gloriously drunk, made up the crew; one canoe was large, the other small and as tipsy as the crew (PLATES 191, 192). They rowed up-stream into the center of the current and pounding the sides of the canoe with their long, narrow paddles, gave a few yells and allowed it to drift swiftly with the current, until at a signal they paddled it out again to the other side. Horses and mules must swim across at the side of a large canoe.

The Salween, called in Tibetan rGya-mo-rngol Chhu,[47] flows here in wide curves at an elevation of 5,800 feet. (Our word Salween is said to be derived from the Burmese name of the river, which is Than-lwen.)

Administrative post of Da-ra and Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — At the hamlet of Chang-thang ལྕང་ཐང (Cho-ts'ung 卓從; Shu-lang of the Lu-tzu), on the west bank of the river opposite Chang-ra the trail leads north, high above the river, through buckwheat fields followed by dense woods, to the Tibetan village of Da-ra[48] with its many *mani* pyramids. The houses which are constructed of dried mud have carved window frames and slate roofs.

Beyond Da-ra the river makes a deep and sharp curve, giving the appearance of a tributary entering it, the bend being almost O-shaped. Ten li from Da-ra we strike first the hamlet of Bä-du and then the plain of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 昌普通. The trail follows the mountain wall in a wide curve ere reaching the gentle, cultivated slopes (PLATE 193).

West of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, called Hra-mu-dam by the Lu-tzu, is a huge limestone cliff crowned by forest; here a large valley opens out which makes a bend southward, the stream flowing past the village into the Salween. In this deep valley back of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung is a high, rocky mountain called Nan-sa-wo, presumably a Lu-tzu name, the slopes and summit of which are covered with myriads of loose, flat rocks; a trail leads up this valley to the Ch'iu Chiang, or eastern branch of the Irrawadi. To the north of the village a shorter stream cuts deeply into the alluvial plain or small plateau, thus isolating the little place with its monastery still in ruins since 1905. It was burned to the ground by Chinese soldiers, who were sent to avenge the murder of the Catholic priest and the destruction of the Bahang Mission. The

[47] རྒྱ་མོ་རྔོལ་ཆུ

[48] Da-ra is the seat of a Chinese official who holds the title of Hsing-cheng wei-yüan 行政委員 (Deputy administrator). The district received recently the name of Kung-shan 貢山 (Tribute mountains). The Chinese deputy magistrate in principle administers also the valley of the Ch'iu Chiang 秋江 which the Tibetans call Chhang-yul ཆང་ཡུལ (Land of beer). The names Chang-thang and Chang-ra are pronounced Chyong-tsong and Chyong-ra by the local people, hence the Chinese transcription.

1 [a Lu-tzu village -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect *Huang-lien* for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the latter and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, yet their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven heavy wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [of crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."

The Ch'iu-tzu, who call themselves Trun, are in the habit of putting resin from pine trees on the soles of their feet and then rubbing them in the dust. This is often repeated so that the soles of the feet become thickly encrusted and this prevents the penetrating of thorns, etc. The Lo-lo are also in the habit of doing the same thing.

9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN — MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceæ, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceæ, *Rhododendron sinonuttallii*, *Rhododendrun sinogrande*, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceæ, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceæ, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered

1 [i.e., the Ch'iu-tzu people -- Rialyst]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 189.—LO-LOLO HUTS AT BABANG

倮 倮 巴 旁 的 房 子

All Lo-lau huts are alike and the price is three silver taels each. Lo-lau women can be seen weaving hemp cloth.

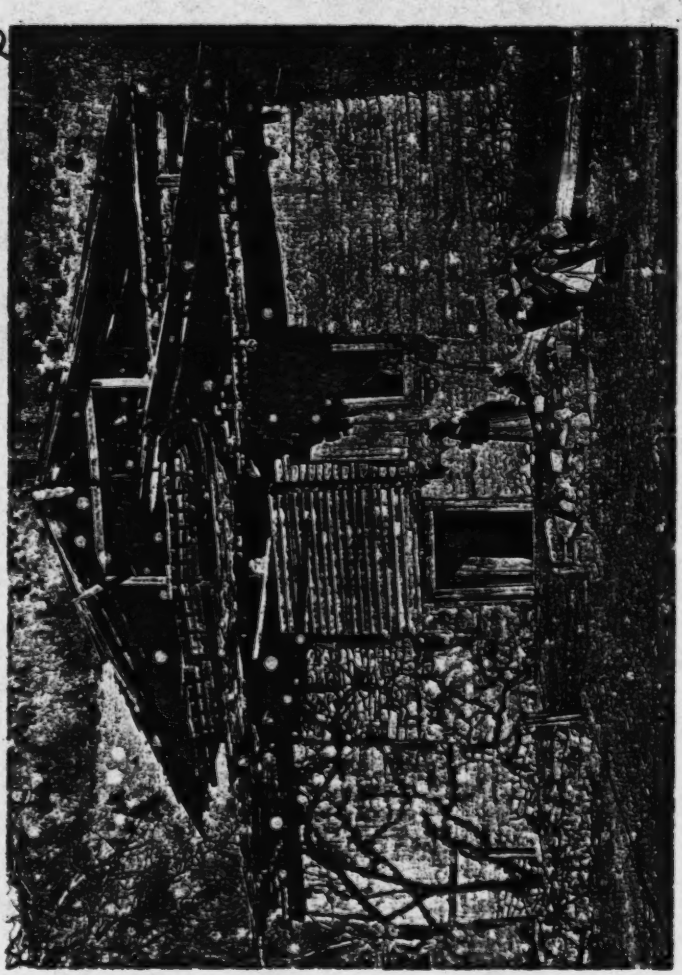
342
286

[p. 362E]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

● 342



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 208.—A MO-SO—TIBETAN HOMESTEAD NEAR KAN-ZE

木 里 藏 族 之 木 仓 房

The architecture in this region is very different from that of the houses in the Mekong Valley. Instead of being flat (covered with tamped, rolled earth), the roofs are of wooden boards weighted down with rocks. The stables are in the second storey.

[p. 394-H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

Tsui-yi. The glen is short but steep and is called She-lü-lü-t'o, meaning "Iron nuggets steep place," from the fact that iron was once mined here. The elevation of this part of the valley is 9,600 feet. A short distance below the pass, Pa-erh-shao 壩耳勺 [also called Pa-erh-ch'iao], is visible. The little village is situated on a very fertile plain, but has been almost abandoned because of Lo-lo depredations. Beyond the spur south of Pa-erh-shao, and still belonging to Yung-ning, is the hamlet of Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 in Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu territory. The distance from A-ngu valley to She-lü-lü-t'o is 22.5 li.

The trail descends the narrow glen and leads out into the great valley of Tsui-yi called in Chinese Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅, where a magnificent view awaits the traveler; the entire Li-chiang snow range, like a huge sleeping dragon, appears on the distant horizon, but the third peak, Ha-ba ndshěr nv-lv, is hidden by other ranges. Arrived in Tsui-yi valley the trail continues west between fields, in ditches and over rocks thrown there by the farmers. Most of the settlers in the upper part of this valley are sons of Han (Chinese). Any trail passing between fields is always the recipient of all the rocks the peasants can find in their fields. It also serves as irrigation ditch, the water from one terraced field being allowed to overflow on to the trail, to irrigate a field lower down. When the water is not wanted lower down the path becomes the bed of a brook. The valley floor is terraced; in the southern valley wall is a broad amphitheater traversed by three streams which flow into the Tsui-yi Stream. Here are several hamlets collectively called Lŏ-bü. Beyond Lŏ-bü the valley narrows and the trail leads along the grass-covered hill-side (*Heteropogon contortus*), with here and there a hamlet of a few houses. Next to Hli-dü, Tsui-yi is by far the richest agricultural, rice-growing area in the Yung-ning territory.

Continuing on the northern valley slopes we come to the hamlet of A-ka-lo, elevation 8,000 feet. The houses are of mud, the roofs of boards weighted down with rocks. The trail follows the narrowing valley to a bridge near the hamlet of Wa-erh-lo, elevation 7,050 feet. Crossing the bridge over the torrent we continue on the southern slopes in the deep, narrow canyon which Tsui-yi has now become. Mile after mile, the entire stream-bed, rocks, water, etc., is a light green, from immense quantities of algae. The trail winds in and out of lateral canyons, is exceedingly narrow and leads several hundred feet above the roaring green torrent.

The Li-su of Ba-ssu-ko hamlet. — After crossing a lateral valley we ascend the mountain-side to a huge rock shelf or broad terrace, at an elevation of 7,050 feet. Here is the Li-su hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko, known in Na-khi as P'ä-dä. The houses are regular pine log cabins, the roofs of pine boards weighted down with rocks. The latter become superfluous at pumpkin season for the entire pumpkin crop is stored on the roofs of the houses (PLATES 234, 235). The Li-su inhabitants when asked whence they had originally come, replied they did not know, except that they had settled in Ba-ssu-ko for many generations. They do, however, still speak their own language besides Hli-dü and Li-chiang Na-khi, as well as Chinese. Over 30 families dwell in this miserable conglomeration of huts, which look as if they had been dumped on a rock pile.

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

●342
251

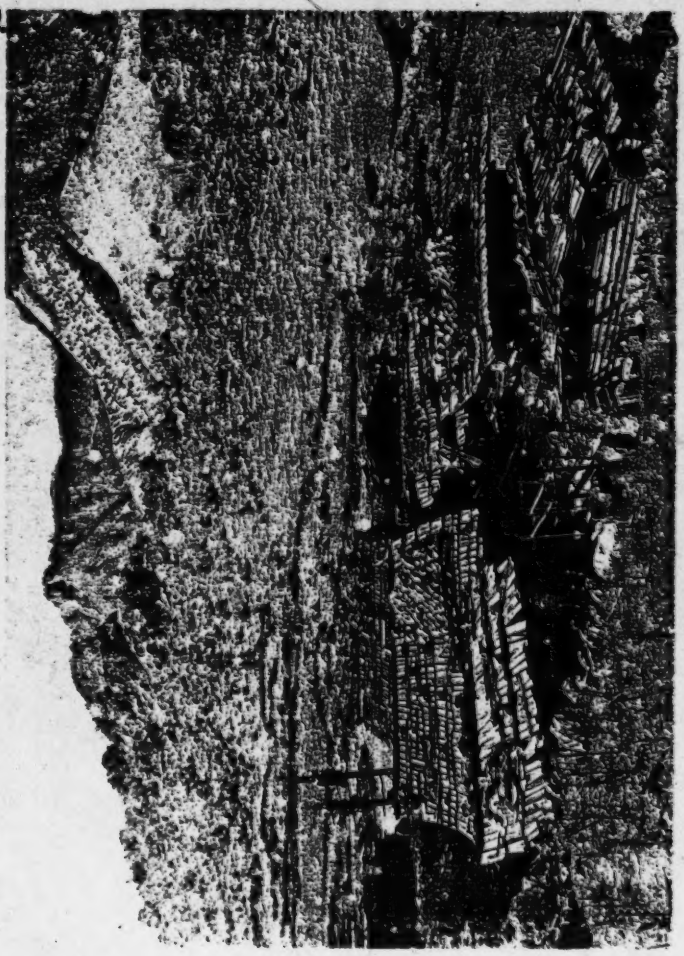


PLATE 234.—THE LI-SU HAMLET OF BA-SUU-KO

木 基 蘇 里 黎 村 子

Ba-suu-ko is situated on a terrace in the Tsui-yi valley at an elevation of 7,050 feet. It is the only Li-su village in this area. Note the pumpkins on the roofs of the houses.

[p. 426 - J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

342
288

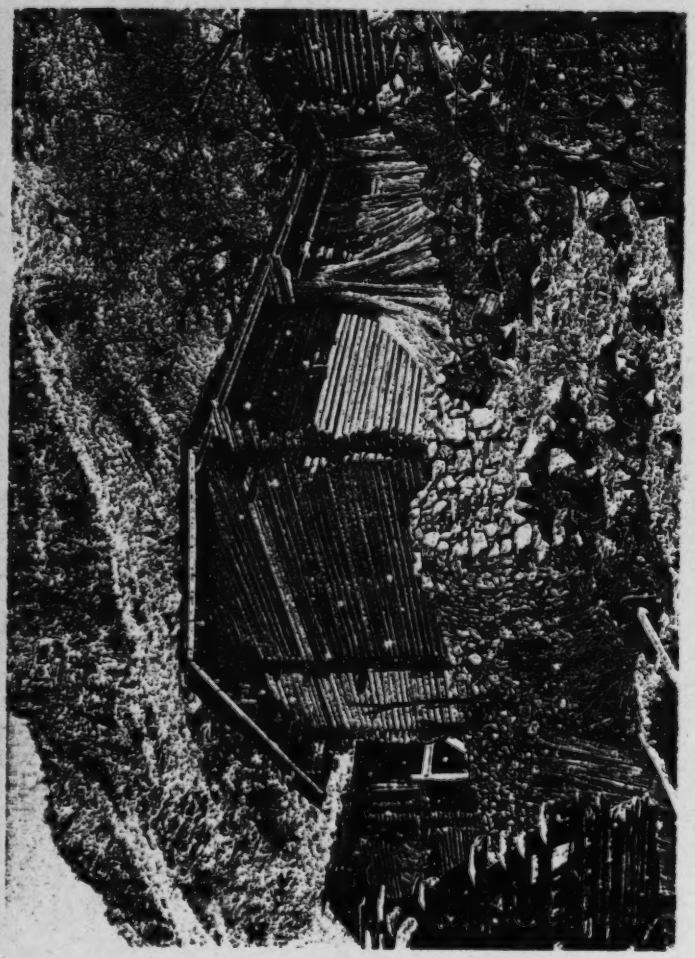


PLATE 235.—LI-SU LOG CABINS OF THE BA-SHU-KO VILLAGE

* * * * * * *

The cabins are of yellow pine logs, the roof pine boards weighted down with rocks. Leaning against the wall of the first cabin, are hemp stalks (*Cannabis sativa*) from the fiber of which they weave their clothing.

[p. 426 K]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

last steep climb entailed much dragging and coaxing of our tired-out mules.

Mi-li can scarcely be called a town, as it is practically nothing but a large monastery inhabited almost entirely by lamas and by men who work for the lamas. There are scarcely any genuine "black men" as the Tibetans call laymen. This expression, I believe, originates in the long black hair worn by the lay population, in contradistinction to the shaven heads of the monks.

A very picturesque place is Mi-li, with its well-built white houses, numbering perhaps a hundred separate buildings, situated on a steeply sloping hillside with fine woods overhanging it. The king's palace is a remarkably fine building, three storeys high, and measuring nearly 100 yards square, constructed of solid masonry, whitewashed all over the outside.

Coming from China into Tibet one cannot help being struck by the superiority of the houses of the Tibetans to those of the Chinese. The Tibetan villager erects a really solid building of stone and mud with woodwork of good massive beams, always two storeys and often three storeys high, a house that is evidently meant to last and which gives him and his family plenty of room. The Chinaman of the same class is usually content with what in comparison is a miserable shanty. The cold climate of Tibet no doubt makes a more substantial house necessary, and another reason for the contrast may be found in the tendency which the Chinese have even in villages to crowd together, so that there is no room for the building of more commodious houses.

I was not the first European to visit Mi-li, for Mr Amundsen[1], a Swedish missionary, had passed through here a year before on his way from Ta-chien-lu to Ta-li Fu. He entered the country with what one may call proper introductions, in the shape of passports from the Chinese officials and from the Tibetan ruler of Chia-la, the state of which Ta-chien-lu is the capital. He also halted some days on the Mi-li border to allow time for the news

[1] I believe M. Bonin also visited Mi-li in 1897. My road cuts the route taken by these two travellers almost at right angles, so that I did not have to go over trodden ground.

101

16. The pronunciation of the name (Liso, Lisu, Lisaw, Li-Hsaw, Chinese: Lutzu) is disputed. It was pronounced by the inhabitants of the village of Pangsapyi as Lishō, Lishū. More recent literature: UBG I, 1, p. 587 (Lisaw, Burma) and p. 615 ("Lissu am Salween Yünnan") /Lisu on the Salween, Yunnan/; C.C. Lowis, "The Tribes of Burma" (Ethnographical Survey of India, No. 4, Rangoon, 1910), pp. 33 ff.; A. Rose and J.C. Brown, "Lisu (Yawyin) tribes of the Burma-China Frontier," Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 3, (1910), No. 4 pp. 249-277; R. Brunhauber, An Hinterindiens Riesenströmenx /On Indochina's Giant Rivers/ (Berlin, 1912), pp. 73 ff.

area. The wildest and most independent tribes live isolated in the barren highlands of the upper Salween.

177 The civilization of the Lisu shows mostly Chi-
342 nese influence. Rose and Brown report about their architecture that at the upper Salween they use grass roofed pile dwellings under which they keep their domestic animals, and that they build ground level huts in the mountains at Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai (17). Their layouts apparently

17. Cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., p. 260 and Plates IV, Figure 2; VII, Figure 2; VIII, Figures 1 and 2. E.C. Young, "A Journey from Yün-nan to Assam," Geographical Journal Vol. 30 (1907), p. 159, describes Lisu houses, not far from Lu-kou, at the upper Salween—in the same area which was visited by Prince Henri d'Orléans; he too reports about the pile dwellings of the local

177
342

Lisu (From Tonkin to India, p. 161). The illustrations in Young, pp. 159 and 161, correspond clearly with our Figure 17. G. Forrest, "Journey on Upper Salwin," Geographical Journal Vol. 32 (1908), p. 262, describes the "genuine Lisu hut" in much the same manner. The Ulu-Lama, mentioned by Young, pp. 163 ff. (picture of their pile dwelling p. 167), live at the border of the Lisu region. Judging from their physical appearance, customs, and geographical location, they apparently belong to the so-called black Lisu who are mentioned by Rose and Brown, ibid., pp. 255 ff. (cf. p. 268 about Lama as a tribal name.') and more recently Gebauer, Anzeiger Akademie der Wissenschaft, Wien /Publications of the Vienna Academy of Sciences/, 1914, Mathematische-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse /Mathematical-Natural Science Class/ pp. 338 ff.--I consider the Henri d'Orléans designation of the pile dwelling as "Tibetan dwellings" misleading. They certainly are not real Tibetans.

do not differ from the houses of the Chinese Shan. One can conclude from this that the pile dwelling represented their original architectural style and that, by migrating from their native country, contact with the Chinese civilization introduced to them another construction method.

361 I also encountered an isolated Lisu village on my trip to Namhsan; it was located 16 kilometers from the Shan capital of Hsipaw, near the main road. This village, Pangsapyi, had /213/ once been a Palaung settlement, but none of their houses was standing any more. At the time

361 of my visit (June, 1912) the Lisu had been living there for only half a year; the government had deported them from their original homes at Kunhawt to Pangsapyi because of the damage they had done to the forests by their migratory agricultural system. There, having no fields, they are now working as coolies on the tea plantations of the Palaung.

342 [361] The village had eighty-nine inhabitants who lived in twelve houses, which were scattered over a deep slope, each house different in its size and style, built just as the terrain and the requirements of the occupant demanded (Plate VI, 4). The exteriors of the houses differed markedly from the Shan and Palaung houses in the same area. The awning at the end of the gables was missing. The entrance was almost always from the broad side of the house. In front of the house was a small veranda, or platform, which was reached by steps. The entire floor rested on piles; the piles were adapted to the steep mountain slopes. To the mountain side, the houses stood on level ground (18). The houses were

18. cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., Plate VII, Figure 2 and Plate VIII, Figure 2, where the steepness of the terrain was equalized by stone supports in layers.

entirely built of bamboo, the outer walls not of wickerwork, but of individual poles. For the roofing the grass mats, customary in Burma, were not used, but loose grass was squeezed between the bamboo planks. I measured the inside of one of the better houses and found a length of 4 3/4 meters, a width of 5 meters, and a height of the side walls at 1 1/2 meters. On the entrance side, the roof projected about 2 1/2 to 3 meters beyond the wall. Under the main post was the space for

SINO-TIBETAN PEOPLES AE3
LISU YAO AE6

Si 342 the pig sty. The layout almost without exception was the same: first a larger main room, in the middle of which, between the central posts, was the fireplace; behind this room is a wall rack for the "Nat," and on this Chinese incense sticks; a small room, partitioned by a mat wall, Si serves as a bedroom for the married couple. In [354] it is usually a mud stove with a large iron kettle, in which the fodder for the pigs is cooked. Needless to say, the houses of this cut-off community, and the occupants themselves, make a very Si: 173 wretched impression. According to tradition, Si 771 they emigrated from China two hundred years ago. Their religion is the demon cult which they have in common with the mountain tribes. It must be assumed that they were influenced by the neighboring Shan and Palaung.

Y 101 [167] Some elements of the Yao tribes (Ting-pan-Yao) (19) have migrated from Chinese areas to the

19. UBG I, 1, pp. 601 ff.

eastern edge of Kengtung, the most easterly of the Southern Shan States—1911: 512. The bulk of this people can be found in eastern Yunnan and Y the adjacent provinces, also in Tonkin and Annam. [177] They are, of course—with the exception of their clothing—entirely Chinese in their customs and Y 342 architecture. Their houses are built at ground level, without pile substructure, and made of split bamboo. They contain one large main room Y and a few sleeping compartments with bamboo bed- [354] steads standing at the sides. The fire is lit in a mud stove. A Yao tribe, the Lenten, builds its houses on low piles. The Shan consider the Lenten as a group separate from the Tingpan-Yao. Though they have many things in common, there definitely exist differences which give weight to this supposition. They do not intermarry with other Yao tribes. According to UBG they belong to the Lahu group.

31: Scherman--78 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma

Shan AP11
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Karen AP7
Palaung AP10

Plate VI

1.

S
342
361 Namhkam, quarter of the Chinese Shan, Mixed style.

2.

House of the Chinese Shan in Wettaung, near Bhamo, upper Burma.

3.

Si
342 Intha houses, Inle Lake, southern Shan State of Yawnghwe.

4.

Lisu house in Pangsapyi, northern Shan State of Tawngpeng.

Plate VII

1.

K
342
361
411 Karenni village of Ngwedaung, Karenni States.

2.

Karenni house in Kwenlong, near Pekon southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye).

3.

P
342 Padaung house in Naungswe, about 8 kilometers from Mongpai, the main town of the Shan State of the same name.

4.

Gaungto-Karen house in Takedu (shan Yanghota, Burmese: Tarudaw), southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye).

Plate VIII

1.

P
342 Palaung village in Namhsan, northern Shan State of Tawngpeng.

2.

Palaung house in Saraw, near Namhsan.

31:Scherman--82 E-4 (no date)1915 AP1 Burma
Shan AP11
Sino Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

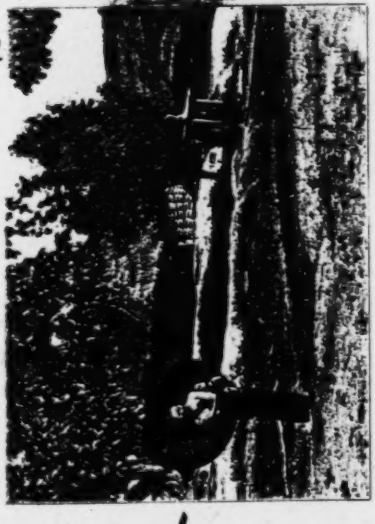
S
342
361

Si
342

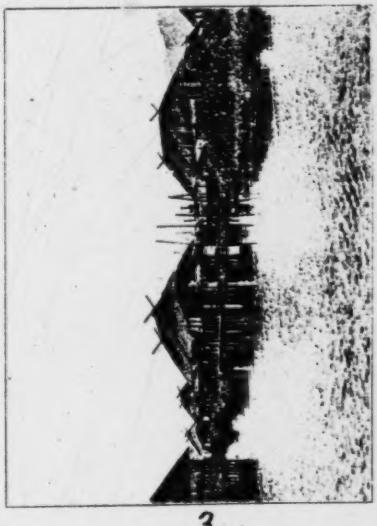
2

4

S
342



1



3

Plate VI

[For description, see page 78, category 116.—Analyst]